

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 284234

EXDIS DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS FOR BRZEZINSKI ONLY

FOLLOWING REPEAT LUSAKA 3596 ACTION SECSTATE INFO DAR ES SALAAM
MAPUTO LONDON NOV 29

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA 3596

EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV RH US UK

SUBJ: RHODESIA: US REACTION TO SMITH ANNOUNCEMENT

REF: STATE 283233, STATE 283188, DAR 4757

1. WE WERE PLEASED TO SEE THE STATEMENTS BY DICK MOOSE
AND THE SECRETARY ASSERTING THE VIEW THAT WE SHOULD
MOVE AHEAD VIGOROUSLY TO PRESENT OUR PROPOSAL IN ITS
DEVELOPED FORM TO THE FRONTLINE. WHILE WE RECOGNIZE
SOME GOOD ARGUMENTS FOR STANDING FAST UNTIL THE SITUATION
CREATED BY SMITH'S PROPOSAL BECOMES CLARIFIED WITH THE
DEPARTMENT AND DAR, WE SEE MORE REASONS TO MOVE AHEAD PROMPTLY.
WE BELIEVE THAT ONCE THE MOMENTUM OF OUR PROPOSAL IS LOST, IT
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WILL BECOME DUBBED AS HAVING BEEN A FAILURE AND REJECTED BY THE
PARTIES. IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO RESURRENCT IT. IF THERE IS A
POINT AT WHICH WE SHOULD STAND ASIDE, IT WOULD BE AFTER HAVING
PRESENTED OUR DETAILED PROPOSALS AND IN THE FACE OF LOACK OF
SUPPORT FROM THE FRONTLINE. ANOTHER ADVANTAGE TO MOVING PROMPTLY
IS THE CONCERN WHICH SMITH'S PROPOSAL HAS GENERATED. THE
AFRICANS MAY BE MORE RECEPTIVE NOW THAN AFTER THE INEVITABLE

PROBLEMS EMERGE, AS WE AGREE WITH DAR WILL HAPPEN. FINALLY, WE THINK SMITH IS PLAYING FOR TIME AND THAT ANY STEPPING BACK WILL BE INTERPRETED AS GOING ALONG WITH HIS DELAYING TACTICS AND WILL LOSE US MUCH OF THE SUPPORT WE NOW HAVE.

2. THE DISARRAY WHICH HAS BEEN PRODUCED BY GROWING DIVISIONS AMONG THE NATIONALISTS AND SMITH'S PROPOSALS MAKE IT QUITE POSSIBLE THAT THIS IS THE BEST MOMENT TO OBTAIN UNEQUIVOCAL AFRICAN SUPPORT FOR WHAT WE ARE PROPOSING. THE FRONTLINE AND NATIONALISTS ARE AWARE THAT THE PROPOSAL WOULD BRING THEM MOST OF THE DEMANDS WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN SEEKING SINCE UDI IN 1965, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME PROVIDING FOR PROTECTION OF THE WHITES AND A FAIR AND IMPARTIAL MEANS OF SELECTING A NEW GOVERNMENT. THEY PROBABLY NOW RECOGNIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF OBTAINING OUR SUPPORT TO GET RID OF SMITH. THEREFORE, IT SEEMS TO US THAT WE SHOULD MOVE AHEAD AS SOON AS POSSIBLE WITH THE BEST PROPOSAL WE CAN COME UP WITH. WE HAVE DEMONSTRATED TO EVERYONE OUR WILLINGNESS AND DESIRE TO CONSULT AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE WITH ALL THE PARTIES. ANY FAILURES TO DO SO RESULTED FROM NATIONALISTS REFUSAL TO TALK TO US, RATHER THAN THE CONTRARY. IN ORDER TO CONVERT THIS LEVERAGE INTO SUCCESSFUL MOVEMENT IN OUR PLAN, WE MUST NOW BE PREPARED TO MOVE AHEAD WITH THOSE WHO ARE WILLING TO GO ALONG.

3. THE ONE GROUP WHOSE SUPPORT WE ABSOLUTELY NEED IS THE FRONTLINE. WE WOULD HOPE THAT IN APPROACHING THE FL WE AND THE BRITISH CAN TAKE A POSITION THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO GO AHEAD WHETHER OR

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NOT THE PF APPROVES OF THE PROPOSAL. SUCH A POSITION WILL GIVE US MAXIMUM LEVERAGE WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS AND SMITH. THEREFORE, IT IS OUR HOPE THAT WE WILL NOT CARRY TOO FAR THE STATEMENT IN THE MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY TO OWEN (STATE 283233 PARA 9) THAT PF AGREEMENT TO A REASONABLE PLAN IS A NECESSARY PRECONDITION. SUCH A PRECONDITION, IN OUR VIEW, WILL LEAD THE PF TO MAKE DEMANDS WHICH COULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO US AND WOULD RENDER AN ULTIMATE AGREEMENT IMPOSSIBLE.

4. WE AGREE WITH JIM SPAIN THAT IT MAY NOT BE EASY TO CONVENE THE FRONTLINE FOR AN OWEN/YOUNG MEETING. OUR PURPOSE IS ESSENTIALLY TO LAY OUR PROPOSAL ON THE TABLE AND OBTAIN THEIR SUPPORT. THEY WILL NOT BE ANXIOUS TO BE PUT IN SUCH A POSITION SINCE THEY WOULD PREFER AMENDING THE PROPOSAL IN VARIOUS DIRECTIONS FIRST. IT WILL BE IMPORTANT THAT WE BE ABLE TO SPECIFY OUR PROPOSALS ON THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE AND MILITARY COMMANDERS WORKING GROUP. THE ATTRACTION WE CAN HOLD OUT TO THEM IS THAT OWEN/YOUNG WOULD BE PREPARED TO DESCRIBE TO THEM WHAT WE ARE WILLING TO DO TO GET RID OF SMITH. IN MY OWN VIEW, A MAJOR ELEMENT IN OBTAINING SOUTH AFRICAN SUPPORT AND EVENTUALLY SMITH'S ACCEPTANCE IS THE FACT OF FRONTLINE SUPPORT BECAUSE IT BRINGS ASSURANCE OF AN END TO THE WAR. A SECOND WOULD BE OUR WILLING-

NESS TO MOVE AHEAD WITHOUT THE PF IF NECESSARY. SANCTIONS AND PRESSURES COME ONLY AFTER THOSE TWO ARGUMENTS BUT WE WILL HAVE TO HAVE A TOTAL PACKAGE WHICH IS CONVINCING TO THE FL.

5. ON THE MATTER OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ZNA, WE BELIEVE THAT THE RATHER LOOSE FORMULATION WHICH CARVER IS IN THE PROCESS OF WORKING OUT COULD POSSIBLY BE SATISFACTORY TO BOTH NYERERE AND THE FL ON THE ONE HAND, AND SMITH ON THE OTHER. IT IS FAITHFUL TO THE FOUR CRITERIA OF THE LAW AND ORDER STATEMENT-- BASED ON THE LIBERATION FORCES (I.E., A MAJORITY FROM THESE GROUPS), INCLUDING ACCEPTABLE ELEMENTS OF THE RDF (THE RHODESIAN AFRICAN RIFLE BATTALIONS), OPEN TO ALL CITIZENS AND LOYAL TO THE NEW GOVERNMENT. WHILE WE CAN STICK TO THE PRINCIPLES, WE SHOULD NOT EXPECT THAT THE FL WILL AGREE TO THE DETAIL OF THEIR
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FORMULATION. AS DAVID OWEN SAID TO US IN LONDON, THIS IS PERHAPS THE POINT ON WHICH WE ARE WEAKEST IN THE VIEW OF THE AFRICANS. WE BELIEVE THAT IF WE WERE TO SUBMIT OUR PROPOSALS TO THE FL REQUESTING THEIR COMMENTS, AS SUGGESTED PARA 5 STATE 283188, WE WOULD BE CLOBBERED. THEY WOULD MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS WHICH WOULD BE ENTIRELY UNACCEPTABLE TO BOTH LORD CARVER AND SMITH AND DOOM OUR ENTERPRISE. WE HAVE FL AGREEMENT ON THE PRINCIPLES. WE MUST STICK TO THESE PRINCIPLES BUT WORK OUT THE DETAILS OURSELVES AND PRESENT OUR PROPOSALS MORE OR LESS ON A TAKE-IT-OR-LEAVE-IT BASIS. TO PUT IT ANOTHER WAY, I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT ANY TABLE OF ORGANIZATION ACCEPTABLE TO THE FL WOULD LEAVE ENOUGH OF THE RHODESIAN DEFENSE FORCES INTACT TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO SMITH, MUZOREWA OR SITHOLE. FURTHERMORE, CARVER HAS OUTLINED HIS PROPOSAL TO THREE OF THE FL PRESIDENTS. NONE OF THEM SHOWED INTEREST IN PURSUING THE DETAILS.

6. IN SUM, WE BELIEVE WE HAVE GOTTEN TO THE PLACE WHERE WE MUST BE PREPARED TO USE THE MOMENT TO PRESENT A PLAN WHICH WE THINK IS WORKABLE BUT WHICH THE PARTIES MUST TAKE OR LEAVE. IF THEY TAKE IT, SO MUCH THE BETTER; IF THEY DON'T, AT LEAST WE ARE PUTTING ON THE TABLE SOMETHING WHICH WE CAN SAY IN GOOD CONSCIENCE HAD A CHANCE, WAS FAIR TO ALL SIDES AND MAY EVENTUALLY SERVE AS THE BASIS FOR A COMPROMISE. LOW. UNQUOTE VANCE

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